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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 088618

FOL REPEAT NEW DELHI 5415 ACTION SECSTATE INFO NACC
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QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L NEW DELHI 5415

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PORG

SUBJECT: THE NACC FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING; KEEPING THE
OPTIONS OPEN

SUMMARY. THE NACC FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE WAS MARKED
BY MODERATION, A DESIRE TO AVOID CONTENTION, AND AN
UNWILLINGNESS TO BREAK NEW GROUND. WE SEE FOUR MAJOR REASONS
FOR THIS: (1) MOST IMPORTANTLY, A DESIRE TO ACCOMMODATE THE
CARTER ADMINISTRATION AND GIVE IT T ME TO IMPLEMENT
INITIATIVES ON KEY ISSUES; (2) THE BELIEF THAT THE NACC
MANDATE WAS RESTRICTED TO A REVIEW OF COLOMBO SUMMIT DECISIONS;
(3) THE INFLUENCE OF INDIA; AND (4) RESTRAINT OF INDIVIDUAL
DELEGATIONS IN PURSUING THEIR SPECIAL INTERESTS. BECAUSE
REGIONAL GROUPS PRODUCED GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE FINAL TEXTS
OF MAJOR ISSUES, THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF INDIA, YUGOSLAVIA,
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AND SRI LANKA ACTING AS A GROUP WAS DIMINISHED AT THIS MEETING.
INDIA NONETHELESS REMAINED THE MOST INFLUENTIAL AND
DYNAMIC DELEGATION AT THE NACC, THROUGH ITS PREPARATION OF
A MILDLY WORDED INITIAL DRAFT COMMUNIQUE AND ITS
MANAGEMENT OF THE CONFERENCE. YUGOSLAVIA WAS THE LEADER ON
THE SUBJECT OF DISARMAMENT BUT ITS INITIATIVE ON NON-
ALIGNED COOPERATION IN NUCLEAR ENERGY WAS STYMIED BY INDIA.

SRI LANKA ACHIEVED PROMINENCE THROUGH ITS AUTHORSHIP OF THE TEXT ON THE COMMON FUND, WHICH BECAME THE NACC'S ONLY RESOLUTION. CUBA, GUYANA AND ALGERIA WERE DESCRIBED AS CONSISTENTLY ACTIVE IN THE MEETING. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE NAM THE NORTH-SOUTH CONFRONTATION EQUALLED THE CONFRONTATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST AS FOCAL POINTS OF PRE-EMINENT CONCERN. ON ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO THE UNITED STATES -- SUCH AS SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE ECONOMIC DIALOGUE, THE PARTICIPANTS WERE EAGER TO KEEP CURRENT NEGOTIATING EFFORTS AND PROSPECTS OPEN. THE RADICAL STATES RECEIVED LITTLE ENCOURAGEMENT FOR PURSUING THEIR CAUSES IN OTHER FORUMS, AND THE NACCFM ESCHEWED A HOSTILE APPROACH TOWARD THE US AND THE WEST, SEEKING INSTEAD TO ENCOURAGE MAJOR POWER RESPONSIVENESS TO THEIR DEMANDS ON ISSUES CRUCIAL TO THE NAM. END SUMMARY.

AT ATMOSPHERE OF MODERATION

1. THE NACC FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE WAS MARKED BY MODERATION, A WIDELY SHARED DESIRE TO AVOID CONTENTION, AND THE BREAKING OF NO NEW GROUND ON NAM POSITIONS. WE SEE FOUR MAJOR REASONS FORMZTHIS:

- THE DESIRE OF MANY IN THE NACC TO BE ACCOMMODATING TO THE NEW CARTER ADMINISTRATION AND GIVE IT TIME TO FORMULATE AND IMPLEMENT ITS INITIATIVES ON KEY ISSUES;
 - THE BELIEF THAT THE MANDATE OF THE NACC WAS RESTRICTED TO REVIEWING PROGRESS ON DECISIONS MADE AT COLOMBO;
 - THE INFLUENCE OF INDIA, THE HOST COUNTRY; AND
 - THE RESTRAINT OF INDIVIDUAL DELEGATIONS IN PURSUING THEIR
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SPECIAL INTERESTS.

2. DELEGATIONS RANGING FROM CONSERVATIVE PERUVIANS TO RADICAL ALGERIANS HAVE STATED TO US THAT THE NACC WANTED TO GIVE TIME TO THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION, NOT ONLY BECAUSE IT IS SUCH A NEW GOVERNMENT BUT ALSO BECAUSE IT HAS ALREADY BEGUN TAKING INITIATIVES ON SUCH KEY ISSUES TO THE NAM AS SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE MIDDLE EAST, AND NORTH-SOUTH ECONOMIC RELATIONS. A YUGOSLAV DELEGATE SAW THIS ATTITUDE AS A SIGN OF MATURITY, AN INDICATION THAT THE NAM WAS LOOKING TOWARD THE LONGTERM AND WAS NO LONGER INTERESTED JUST IN POLEMICS. IN TERMS OF THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE, THE EXISTENCE OF AMERICAN INITIATIVES INFLUENCED THE REDRAFTING OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICA SECTION, WAS ACKNOWLEDGED AT LEAST IN PASSING IN THE MIDDLE EAST SECTION, AND WAS THE SOLE NEW ELEMENT IN THE INDIAN OCEAN PEACE ZONE SECTION. ON ECONOMIC MATTERS, THE NACC MEMBERS MADE CLEAR THAT THEY ARE WAITING FOR DEVELOPED COUNTRY, AND MOST SPECIFICALLY AMERICAN, RESPONSES TO THEIR PROPOSALS. SOME DELEGATES EVEN SPECULATED THAT THE

QUESTION OF IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES
INFLUENCED CUBA'S BEHAVIOR AT THE CONFERENCE. THAT PROSPACT
MAY ALSO HAVE BEEN A FACTOR
IN VIETNAM'S MODERATING INFLUENCE
ON LAOS TO ACCEPT A CONSIDERABLY MUTED VERSION OF ITS
COMPLAINT AGAINST THAILAND.

3. CONFERENCE AND DELEGATION LEADERS STRESSED BOTH BEFORE AND
DURING THE CONFERENCE THAT ITS PURPOSE WAS TO REVIEW PROGRESS
MADE ON COLOMBO SUMMIT DECISIONS. OTHERS STATED PRIVATELY

THAT THE CONFERENCE WAS BEING HELD FOR ITS OWN SAKE, TO GIVE
THE APPEARANCE OF NAM ACTION, NOT TO TAKE IT. THUS THE
CONFERENCE LOOKED BACKWARD, NOT FORWARD, AND IN TERMS OF
NAM POSITIONS AND IN SETTLING DISPUTES IN COMMITTEE AU THE
COLOMBO DOCUMENT
ENTRUSTED THE BENCHMARK USED TO SUPPORT POSITIONS.
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THE NACC IN DELHI DID NOT CONSIDER THAT IT HAD A MANDATE TO
MAKE SUBSTANTIVE DECISIONS, A REASON GIVEN FOR NOT CONSIDERING
THE IRAQI PROPOSAL FOR A PERMANENT SECRETARIAT. SIMILAR
CAUTION WAS REFLECTED IN THE EARLIER DECISION NOT TO PLACE
ON THE AGENDA AN ISSUE THAT HAD BEEN SPECIFICALLY REFERRED TO
THE NACC BY THE COLOMBO SUMMIT: THE QUESTION OF MEMBERSHIP
CRITERIA.

C

FROM THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT IN PREPARING THE DRAFT COMMUNIQUE AND,
AS DESCRIBED BELOW, IN MANAGING THE CONFERENCE INTENDED IT TO
BE AS NON-CONTROVERSIAL AS POSSIBLE. IF THE COLOMBO DECLARATION
REPRESENTED THE UPPER LIMIT ON POSITIONS TAKEN IN DELHI, THE
INDIAN DRAFT WAS THE BASE. AS ONE MODERATE DELEGATE NOTED,
THE MILD INDIAN TEXT MADE IT MUCH EASIER TO CONTAIN EFFORTS
TO RADICALIZE THE COMMUNIQUE. IT WOULD HAVE BEEN FAR MORE
DIFFICULT TO TONE DOWN A CONTENTIOUS INITIAL DRAFT.

5. LASTLY, AMENDMENTS AND REDRAFTS PUT FORWARD BY DELEGATIONS
AND GROUPS WITH SPECIAL OR REGIONAL INTERESTS WERE THEMSELVES
MORE MODERATE IN TONE THAN AT COLOMBO, EVEN THOUGH THE LEADERS
OF THESE GROUPS ARE IN FACT IN THE RADICAL WING OF THE NAM.
AN ALGERIAN DELEGATE, APPARENTLY SPEAKING FROM EXPERIENCE,
COMMENTED THAT REGIONAL GROUPS HAVE TO PRESENT "LOWEST
COMMON DENOMINATOR" TEXTS IN ORDER TO HAVE THEM ACCEPTED BY
THE BROADER MEMBERSHIP OF THE NAM. THE PRECEDENT OF PUBLISHED
RESERVATIONS ESTABLISHED AT COLOMBO NO DOUBT REINFORCED THE
RADICAL'S AWARENESS OF THE LIMITATIONS ON NAM "SOLIDARITY".
AS A RESULT, THE RADICAL ACCRETIONS IN THEIR FULLEST FLOWER
ARE FOUND IN THE LESS ACTION-ORIENTED SECTIONS OF THE COMMUNIQUE.
SUCH AS THE GUYANESE-ADDED SECTION ON INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL

AFFAIRS AND THE ALGERIAN INTRODUCTION TO THE AFRICAN SECTION.
THE LAOTIAN DRAFT ON THAILAND WAS THE ONE EXCEVGION TO THIS
PATTERN OF MORE MODERATE AMENDMENTS. THE OUTCOME OF THIS ISSUE
UNDERScores THE ROLE PLAYED BY REGIONAL GROUPS IN ACHIEVING
MODERATION IN DELHI. SIMILARLY, DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SYRIA AND
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IRAQ OVER REFERENCE TO THE GENEVA CONFERENCE WERE RESOLVED BY
THE EXPEDIENT OF OMITTING THE SUBJECT.

LEADERSHIP

6. IN VIEW OF THE ABILITY OF REGIONAL GROUPS TO PRODUCE
GENERALLY ACCPETABLE FINAL TEXTS ON MAJOR ISSUES, E.G.,
SOUTH AFRICA, MIDDLE EAST, LATIN AMERICA, THE RELATIVE
IMPORTANCE OF THE "BIG THREE" OF THE COLOMBO SUMMIT--INDIA,
YUGOSLAVIA, AND SRI LANKA ACTING AS A GROUP--WAS DIMINISHED
AT THIS MEETING. BUT THE WEIGHT OF THIS DIMINUTION FELL MORE
ON YUGOSLAVIA AND SRI LANKA. INDIA REMAINED THE MOST
INFLUENTIAL AND DYNAMIC DELEGATION AT THE NACC.

(A) INDIA: THE GOI USED ITS POSITION AS CONFERENCE HOST TO
MAXIMUM ADVANTAGE. FIRST, THE EXTREMELY MODERATE (IN NAM
TERMS) INDIA DRAFT TEXTS, COMBINED WITH PM DESAI'S OPENING
SPEECH, SET THE TONE FOR THE MEETING. SECOND, THE INDIAN
DELEGATION ACTIVELY SOUGHT TO FRUSTRATE ANY POSSIBILITY OF
EXTREMIST AC
ON THROUGH CORRIDOR LOBBYING. THIRD, THE
PARTICIPATED IN THE PREPARATION OF SOME FINAL TEXTS. FOURTH,
WHEN THEY FOUND PROPOSED AMENDMENTS STILL UNDESIRABLE, THEY SOUGHT
TO CHANGE THEM FROM THE FLOOR OR ENTERED RESERVATIONS.
(EMBASSY WILL BE PREPARING A LONGER ASSESSMENT OF INDIA'S
ROLE AS NACCFM CHAIRMAN.)

(B) YUGOSLAVIA: INDIA DID CONSULT CLOSELY WITH THE YUGOSLAVS
IN PREPARATION FOR THE MEETING, INCLUDING THE TWO-DAY INFORMAL
TRILATERAL TALKS BEFORE THE OPENING DAY. AFTER THAT, HOWEVER,
THE SCOPE OF YUGOSLAV ACTION WAS MUCH REDUCED. THE YUGOSLAVS
WERE THE LEADING PLAYERS OM THE SUBJECTS OF DISARMAMENT AND--
IN A SURPRISE MOVE-A NUCLEAR ENERGY. WHILE THEY HAD LITTLE
TROUBLE WITH EISARMAMENT, INDIA COMPLETELY REVISED THEIR
NUCLEAR ENERGY STATEMENT AND KNOCKED THE SULRECT OUT DBDTHE
COMMUNIQUE, EXCEPT FOR A YUGOSLAV PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE
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RSDDLE EAST TEXT WHICH WAS RDCTED IN THE COMMITTEE, YUGOSLAVS WERE

NOT OTHERWISE INVOLVED IN DRAFTING THE FINAL TEFO. AS NOTED IN OUR SEPARATE REPORT ON THE NON-ALIGNED NEWS POOL, YUGOSLAVIA'S INTEREST WAS BEST SERVED BY ASSURING THAT THE MEETING GAVE IT MINIMO ATTENTION.

(C) SRI LANKA: THE SRI LANKAN DELEGATION WAS ACTIVE ON ONLY A FEW ISSUES. ITS MOST PROMINENT MOMENT CAME WITH THE SUBMISSION OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE COMMON FUND WHICH, ADOPTED WITHOUT CHANGE, BECAME THE NACC'S ONLY RESOLUTION. SRI LANKA ALSO WAS INVOLVED IN THE EFFORT TO TONE DOWN THE LAOTIAN TEXT. WHILE INDIA COULD COMFORTABLY REPLY ON SRI LANKA'S SUPPORT FOR ITS MODERATING ROLE, THE GOSL DELEGATION ITSELF WAS OTHERWISE NOT AN ACTIVE PLAYER.

7. THREE OTHER LEADERS: CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS CONSISTENTLY POINTED TO THREE OTHER DELEGATIONS AS TAKING ACTIVE PART IN THE MEETING: CUBA, GUYANA AND ALGERIA. THE PRINCIPAL CHANNEL FOR CUBAN INFLUENCE WAS ITS CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE. CUBAN UN PERMREP ALARCON WAS COMPLIMENTED FOR HIS INCOMPETENCE AND HANDLING OF DELEGATES. MOST OBSERVERS FELT, HOWEVER, THAT HIS FINAL DECISIONS WERE INVARIABLY CONSISTENT WITH HIS OWN DELEGAHSON'S VIEWS. FURTHER THE CUBANS TOOK THE LEADING ROLE IN REWRITING THE LATIN AMERICAN SECTION OF THE DRAFT COMMUNIQUE AND WERE A LEADING PARTICIPANT IN THE WORK OF THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE. THEY PLAYED A LIAISON ROLE IN RESOLVING THE LAOS AMENDMENT. DURING THE DISARMAMENT DISCUSSION, THEY PRESENTED THE SOVIET PROPOSAL OF LINKING THE SSOD DIRECTLY TO WORLD CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT⁵.

8. ALGERIA KEPT A LOW PUBLIC PROFILE: FOREIGN MINISTER BOUTEFLIKA DID NOT ATTEND THE CONFERENCE AND, NOTICABLY, THE DELEGATION GAVE NO PLENARY ADDRESS. NEVERTHELESS, ON A NUMBER OF TOPICS, ALGERIA HAD AN IMPACT. ONE OF THE MEETING'S FEW NEW INITIATIVES--THE NAM MISSION TO SOUTHERN AFRICA-- WAS AN ALGERIAN PROPOSAL. THEY ALSO SHEPHERDED THROUGH THEIR TEXTS

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ON NORTH KOREA, WESTERN SAHARA, AND "IMPERIALISM" IN AFRICA. THE GUYANESE MADE A MARK FOR THEMSELVES THROUGH THEIR ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN THE DISCUSSIONS OF BOTH THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC COMMITTEES. THEY WORKED WITH THE CUBANS ON THE REDRAFT OF THE LATIN AMERICAN SECTION, AND WON CONFERENCE SUPPORT FOR THEIR TEXT ON DESTABILIZATION (NONINTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF STATES).

9. OTHER CONFERENCE DELEGATIONS EITHER TOOK NO PART IN THE WORK OF THE MEETING OR WERE LIMITED TO A SINGLE-ISSUE OR REGIONAL-ISSUE FOCUS. A DESCRIPTION OF THE BEHAVIOR OF THE DELEGATIONS WILL BE TRANSMITTED IN A SUBSEQUENT TELEGRAM.

LIMITED NUMBER OF KEY ISSUES.

10. IT WAS EVIDENT FROM THE MEETING THAT THERE ARE FEW LIVE POLITICAL ISSUES OF CONCERN TO THE NAM AS A WHOLE. ONLY SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST APPEARED TO ENGAGE THEIR SYMPATHY AND ACTIVE SUPPORT. EXCEPT IN RELATION TO DISARMAMENT IN GENERAL AND THE INDIAN OCEAN AS A ZONE OF PEACE, GREAT POWER RIVALRIES RECEIVED LITTLE ATTENTION. WHENEVER POSSIBLE, THE NACC ATTEMPTED ALSO TO AVOID COMMENT ON REGIONAL PROBLEMS, OR, FAILING THAT, TO MAKE ITS STATEMENTS NON-COMMITTAL. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE PERENNIAL POOR RELATION ON THE NAM AGENDA--ECONOMIC ISSUES--ROSE IN IMPORTANCE. EVEN DELEGATION HEADS WHO DID NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE WORK OF THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE HAD THE FATE OF THE COMMON FUND AND CIEC ON THEIR MIND. PERHAPS FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE NAM, THE NORTH/SOUTH DIFFERENCES EQUALLED THE CONFRONTATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST AS FOCAL POINTS OF PRE-EMINENT CONCERN.

KEY US ISSUES: IMPACT OF THE NACC FOR FUTURE ACTIONS

11. THE MEETING'S RESTRAINT AND MODERATION WERE PARTI-CONFIDENTIAL

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CULARLY EVIDENT IN THE WILLINGNESS OF THE PARTICIPANTS TO KEEP CURRENT INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATING EFFORTS AND PROSPECTS OPEN. THE RADICAL STATES RECEIVED LITTLE ENCOURAGEMENT FOR PURSUING THEIR CAUSES IN OTHER INTERNATIONAL FORUMS. THE NACCFM ESCHEWED A CONFRONTATIONAL APPROACH TOWARD THE US AND THE WEST. IT SOUGHT TO ENCOURAGE MAJOR POWER RESPONSIVENESS TO THEIR DEMANDS FOR MOVEMENT ON KEY ISSUES, PARTICULARLY SOUTHERN AFRICAN AND ECONOMIC ISSUES.

(A) SOUTHERN AFRICA: IN THIS SPIRIT, FIVE UN PERREPS., REPORTEDLY WITH THE CONSENT OF THE FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS, TOOK THE LEAD IN FORMULATING A TEXT WHICH INTENTIONALLY DID NOT CRITICIZE ANY WESTERN POWER BY NAME FOR MAINTAINING RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA AND WHICH MADE NO REFERENCE TO THE CURRENT UNSC DEBATE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA. THESE PERMREPS, EXPRESSED TO US PRIVATELY THEIR COMMITMENT TO WORKING OUT AN ACCEPTABLE DECLARATION ON SOUTHERN AFRICA IN NEW YORK, AND THEIR INTENTION TO ASSURE THAT THE NACCFM DID NOT BECOME AN OBSTACLE TO THAT GOAL. THE DECISION TO SEND A NON-ALIGNED MISSION TO SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE ONE NEW ACTION ASPECT OF THEIR WORK, IS MORE A GESTURE OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE FRONTLINE STATES AND THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT THAN A NEW DEPARTURE IN POLICY.

(B) THE MIDDLE EAST: THE NACCFM DID NOT TRY TO INTERFERE WITH OR COMPLICATE US EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A RECONVENED MIDDLE EAST PEACE CONFERENCE (MEPC). THE COMMUNIQUE MAKES NO REFERENCE TO THE POSSIBILITY OF CONVENING A MEPC, BUT IN A SUBDUED WAY TAKES NOTE OF CURRENT EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THE ARAB-ISARELI DISPUTE. THE THREE ARAB BUREAU MEMBERS--IRAQ, SYRIA AND THE PLO--PREDICTABLY TOOK A HARSH LINE TOWARDS ISRAEL (ALTHOUGH REFERENCES TO ZIONISM WERE TONED DOWN). BUT THEIR RELATIVE RESTRAINT TOWARDS THE US--MENTIONED ONLY ONCE BY NAME FOR SUPPORTING ISRAEL--REFLECTS A RELUCTANT WILLINGNESS TO GIVE THE
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CARTER ADMINISTRATION A CHANCE TO PROVE ITSELF ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND PALESTINIAN ISSUES. AT THE SAME TIME, THE ARABS CONTINUED TO PUSH FOR AN AUGMENTED SECURITY COUNCIL ROLE AS NEGOTIATOR, AND FOR SECURITY COUNCIL IMPLEMENTATION OF RECENT UNGA RESOLUTIONS ON PALESTINE AND THE MIDDLE EAST.

(C) KOREA: THE DPRK SINGULARLY FAILED TO MAKE ANY GAINS OVER COLOMBO AND RECEIVED NO ENCOURAGEMENT FOR A NEW EFFORT TO PUSH A PRO-DPRK RESOLUTION AT THE 32ND UNGA. THE DPRK LOBBIED HARD BUT UNSUCCESSFULLY FOR NACCFM ENDORSEMENT OF THEIR JANUARY 27, 1977 PROPOSAL FOR A CONFERENCE OF "ALL THE POLITICAL PARTIES, PUBLIC ORGAIZATIONS, AND PEOPLE OF ALL STATES." THEY LEFT DELHI WITH LITTLE TO SHOW FOR THEIR EFFORTS, WHILE THE ROK WAS SATISFIED THAT, FROM ITS VIEWPOINT, THERE HAD BEEN NO DETERIORATION SINCE COLOMBO.

(D) LATIN AMERICA: NACCFM ADOPTION OF THE CUBAN TEXT REITERATING SUPPORT FOR THE "LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE OF PUERTO RICO TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE" MAY LEAD TO RENEWED EFFORTS TO BRING THE MATTER TO THE COMMITTEE OF 24. CUBA AND GUYANA, HOWEVER, RECEIVED AT BEDL ONLY QUALIFIED NACC BACKING, WITH FOUR STATES EXPRESSING RESERVATIONS ON YTHE COMMUNIQUE TEXT. THE PLO FURTHER UNDERCUT CUBAN EFFORTS BY PUSHING FOR REFERENCE TO PUERTO RICO IN THE ECONOMIC REPORT, GENERATING FURTHER RESERVATIONS, INCLUDING REPORTEDLY JAMAICA. THE PANAMA TEXT IS NO IMPEDIMENT TO US/PANAMANIAN NEGOTIATIONS, ALTHOUGH PREDICTABLY IT REAFFIRMED THE DEMANDS FOR RETURN OF THE CANAL AND THE ZONE "PROMPTLY" TO PANAMA.

(E) ECONOMIC ISSUES: THE FAILURE OF THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS ON THE COMMON FUND IMMEDIATELY BEFORE THE OPENING OF THE NACCFM CERTAINLY REINFORCED A PESSIMISTIC ATMOSPHERE REGARDING THE NORTH/SOUTH DIALOGUE. BUT, FAR
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FROM SEEKING A CONFRONTATION, THE NACCFM ISSUED A STRONG APPEAL "TO PROMOTE A CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE WITH THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES" AND "TO SERIOUSLY CONSIDER THE STEPS NECESSARY TO PREVENT THE FAILURE" OF THE CIEC. THE RESOLUTION ON THE COMMON FUND (THE ONLY RESOLUTION OF THE CONFERENCE) URGES EFFECTIVE ACTION "TO ENSURE" THAT THE NEGOTIATING CONVERENCE IS RECONVENED NOT LATER THAN NOVEMBER 1977. THE NACCFM DID NOT TAKE UP DIRECTLY THE PAKISTANI PROPOSAL FOR A THIRD WORLD ECONOMIC SUMMIT, BUT PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS INDICATED LITTLE SUPPORT EXCEPT AMONG ISLAMIC STATES.

(F) ARMS CONTROL: THE NACCFM WITHOUT CONTROVERSY OR MUCH DISCUSSION URGED CONTINUING NON-ALIGNED COORDINATION FOR THE SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT, REITERATED THE THREE ELEMENTS PROPOSED FOR THE AGENDA AT COLOMBO INCLUDING "THE QUESTION OF CONVENING A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE", AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE SSOD WOULD LEAD TO EFFECTIVE MEASURES FOR HALTING THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE AND PROMOTING NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT AND THE PROCESS OF GENERAL DISARMAMENT. BY FOCUSING SO HEAVILY ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND AVOIDING ANY BUT THE MOST GENERAL REFERENCES TO RESTRAINTS ON CONVENIONAL ARMS, IT IS CLEAR THAT THE NAM CONTINUES TO SEE THE MAIN FOCUS OF THE SSOD AS DIRECTED TOWARD EFFECTING MAJOR CHANGES IN THE POLICIES OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS STTES, PARTICULARLY THE US AND USSR.

(G) INDIAN OCEAN PEACE ZONE: IN LANGUAGE NOTABLY Milder THAN THAT OF COLOMBO, THE NACCFM NOTED ON-GOING CONSULTATIONS FOR A CONFERENCE ON THE INDIAN OCEAN, AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE FOR MAJOR POWER COOPERATION WITH THE UN AD-HOC COMMITTEE ON THE INDIAN OCEAN. DIEGO GARCIA WAS CITED ILLUSTRATIVELY, ACKNOWLEDGING BY IMPLICATION THE PRESENCE OF SOVIET BASES AS WELL. THERE WAS ALSO A RESTRAINED REFERENCE TO THE PRESIDENT'S REMARKS BY TAKING NOTE OF "RECENT STATEMENTS BY THE GREAT POWERS RELEVANT TO THE

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ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INDIAN OCEAN AS A ZONE OF PEACE." CLEARLY, THE NAM, ON THIS AS WELL AS OTHER ISSUES, IS WAITING TO SEE WHAT THE US WILL DO NEXT.

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